THE

"HINDU MESSAGE"

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

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The **Hindu Message** stands for

(1) The Maintenance of British supremacy with self-government for India,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

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A Vision Of India.

VAIGAI.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

O Thou that com'st to quench the thirst of him,
God's friend who glad to fair Mathura came
The single bridal guest to put to shame
The sumptuous feasts with sweetness full to brim!
I dedicate to thee this humble hymn
Of praise and gladly sing thy name,
The radiant splendour of thy blessed fame
Doth make the brightness of thy sisters dim.
Upon thy banks the God of Earth and Sky
Did veil his light divine in human form
And won all human hearts by love's sweet might,
The blessed saints have poured in ecstacy
Their hearts in songs with sweetness multiform
Here where thy waters shine upon our sight.

The Hindu Message

THURSDAY EVENING 17, OCT., 1918.

"A People's war."

Towards the close of last month, President Wilson, of the United States, made a speech at New York in which he proclaimed to the world what he called an "analysis of the international situation which the war has created." His opinion is that "it has become a people's war." That is from the positive side. Negatively, he said of the war that it is "not a statesman's." His explanation is contained in the following sentences. It is a people's war,—for, "all sorts of races, and of every degree of power and variety of fortune are involved in its processes of change and settlement." It is *not* a statesman's war,—for, "when our hopes and expectations are most excited, we think more definitely than before of the plain issues that hang upon it, and of the purpose which must be realised by means of it"; and of these issues and purposes, Dr. Wilson says:—"No statesman or assembly created them, and no statesman or assembly can alter them. They have arisen out of the very nature and circumstance of war. The most that statesmen or assemblies can do is to carry them out or be false to them."

It is interesting to know what are the issues and purposes which, according to President Wilson, the "peoples" concerned in the war are fighting for. Dr. Wilson enumerates the issues in the following interrogatories:—"Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force? Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purposes and interests? Shall peoples be ruled and dominated even in their own internal affairs by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice? Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations, or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress? Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance or shall there be a common concern to oblige the observance of common rights?" All these issues are to be settled, when the war is ended, "once and for all and with full unequivocal acceptance of the principle that *the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest.*" As regards the "purpose" which the war is to accomplish, Dr. Wilson speaks as follows.—"Not only impartial justice, but also the satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with." And again:—"A justice that plays no favourites and knows no standards, but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned." This Dr. Wilson further explains as follows:—"National purposes have fallen more and more into the background, and the common purpose of enlightened mankind has taken their place." What is to be this "*common purpose of enlightened mankind*" in the future of the world's history? Dr. Wilson does not fail to enligten us. He defined it as "the final triumph of justice and fair dealing," "the broad-visioned justice and mercy and peace and the satis-

faction of these deep-longings of oppressed and distracted men and women and enslaved people,"—not mere "territorial arrangements and discussions of power"

We have purposely given a complete analysis of President Wilson's speech and enumerated his several points as far as possible in his own words. In proceeding to comment upon it, our readers cannot fail to be struck with the fact that Dr. Wilson indulges in vague generalities which may mean much, or may be whittled down to the lowest point of tenuity so as to mean little or nothing. From the time of the Revolutionary Epoch, men have spoken of the freedom and equal rights of men, and of the liberation of oppressed and distracted nationalities. If now Dr. Wilson has come forward to proclaim that "the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest," others before him have stood for "the development and perfection of the national life, consistently with the destiny of humanity." We can make nothing of vague formulae like these, but want definite statements of what Dr. Wilson wants to see done with regard to the communities and nations which have fallen under a foreign yoke. It is not enough to say that no nation or group of nations should be permitted to govern others by the right of force, but it is necessary to insist that all subject communities should be liberated from the yoke of foreign rulers when peace is proclaimed at the conclusion of the war. It is not enough to say that one community should not use other communities and their resources for the advancement of their own purposes and interests, but to insist that all communities should be free to use their resources for advancing their own purposes and aims and should have the right to determine the form of Government suited to the advancement of its own aims. It is not enough to say that all communities, weak and strong, should have their interests safe-guarded, but to reduce the strength and possessions of those who have more than their due share of them.

It is necessary, if President Wilson means to give effect to his views, to enter into further particulars regarding the various communities which are now subjected to the yoke of dominant peoples and States. What is the immediate step to be taken in the liberation and improvement of each of these subject communities, and what are the subsequent ones and at what intervals and by what means are they to be accomplished? What is the machinery to be brought into existence for the purpose of giving effect to the measures contemplated or devised at the "peace table" where the representatives of the Powers will assemble at the conclusion of the war? Unless the machinery suitable for this purpose is brought into existence, and unless measures are taken at the conclusion of peace to destroy or weaken all forces which are or may become strong enough to render it ineffective for the purposes it has to fulfil in the international order of the future, the present passionate aspiration and longing for an epoch of peaceful progress for all humanity will have passed without leaving any substantial achievement behind.

The lesson of the revolutionary epoch of Europe should not be lost. It also set forth noble ideals in noble language. But it failed to strike at

the idea that States are the organised results of the working of *self-assertion*. Hence we have seen, during a century or more, such an enormous competition and rivalry among the communities of the West for the advancement by each of its own territorial extent and national power as can only be settled from time to time by the arbitrament of the world. During the last half-a-century we have had wars between Italy and Austria, Austria and Prussia, Prussia and France, America and Spain, Europe and China, Russia and Japan, and now, lastly, the present world-war or "people's war" in which, as President Wilson says, peoples of all sorts of races and of every degree of power and variety of fortune are involved in its sweeping processes of change and settlement. So long as the spirit of self-assertion is allowed to prevail, so long as the States and nations of Europe regard the world as the arena of their scramble for territory and power, it is impossible to avoid international conflicts and a further repetition of the awful tragedy which is being enacted in the sanguinary fields fought in the various theatres of war, East and West, where countless millions are wreaking deadly hatred and revenge against each other day by day and hour by hour without being conscious of the inhuman atrocity and diabolical wickedness of what they are doing.

If the future is to be unlike the past, the principles of self-determination and self-government must replace the principle of self-assertion, and antagonism must be replaced by combination. In fact the latter will follow as an inevitable consequence of the acceptance of the principle of self-determination for all peoples. But what is the chance of this principle being adopted, so long as men are already speaking of economic boycotts, preferential tariffs, and geographical re-distribution and expansion. President Wilson's aim at what he calls "the peace-table" seems to be that all political, economic, and territorial exploitation must cease. But can he feel sure that this idea of universal peace through the self-determination of all peoples and a combination of all of them into a League of Nations with a machinery of its own which will enable it to carry out its own aims while rendering ineffective all isolated activities and schemes of self-aggrandisement on the part of individual peoples and nations,—that this noble scheme or ideal of universal peace and equality of rights for all peoples will be welcomed by the States and communities which now wield influence and power in the world. Dr. Wilson himself seems to have his own doubts whether the statesmen, leaders and representatives of the nations and States will take the same exalted view as he has himself taken of their place and function in the world's order when they are called on to assemble at "the peace table." For, he says of them:—"I hope they will feel free to say whether they think I am mistaken in my interpretation of the issues involved or in my purpose with regard to the means by which a satisfactory settlement of these issues can be obtained." We rather feel inclined to think that the hope which he entertains of being able to place the future of humanity on a more satisfactory basis of mutual co-operation and harmony than hitherto is premature if not altogether vain and futile. This is clear, too, from the

fact that his speech has evoked no response from the statesmen or sovereigns of Europe or elsewhere. Greed, fanaticism, and force are still the chief incentives to State policy and State combination among the "civilised" communities of men. It is only when the nations of Europe give up their policy of territorial expansion and commercial exploitation of weaker peoples and races that President Wilson's philanthropic plans and purposes will find an echo and an ingress into the hearts of the statesmen and leaders who govern their destinies and settle the future of humanity at large.

Some South Indian Adullamites.

Some time ago, a few Non-Brahmin gentlemen suddenly discovered or were helped, under high auspices, to discover—that the Brahmins had been their enemies for all time. It is a wonder how this discovery had never been made during all the countless ages that Brahmins and non-Brahmins had lived and worked and suffered together in all the successive epochs of the history of the past. It is a wonder, too, how these non-Brahmin factionists who are only a microscopic section of the non-Brahmins failed to appreciate the significanee of the fact that their Anglo-Indian allies and prompters had failed hitherto to discover their "reasonable grievances" or offer them help. Moreover, it is clear as day to all the world that *most* of these gentlemen from abroad are here for the fulfilling of the sacred function of *exploiting* India's resources. But none are so blind as those who will not see. For the present they are content to be led blindfold into the darkness of the abyss. Their protests against the schemes of reform propounded by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy or the same as improved under the alterations and additions suggested by the Special Congress Session recently held are altogether ill-timed. For, what is wanted at this time of hatching and preparation of the Government's scheme of reform is *a united national demand.* A people, one great among the nations, had fallen into a condition of unparallelled decline and abject dependence. After the subjection and sufferings of centuries under their own or alien rulers, they have found leaders and formed an organisation capable of lifting them from their absysmal degradation, and the time has come for the fruition of the efforts made during a generation past,—efforts made with a determination and stubbornness which have forced themselves on the attention of our rulers, obtained their recognition and sympathy, and secured the framing of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reform. The special Congress has not rejected the scheme, but has only stated the additions and improvements needed in order to render it acceptable. The framers of the scheme failed to appreciate the fact recently placed by Lord Morley before the British electors that "no Indian was unfitted as such to fulfil the highest duties of citizenship and the highest responsibilities of Government." It is the necessity we are under of securing from our rulers a recognition of this fundamental fact of the situation in India that has induced the Congress to meet in special session and to make its demands for improvements and additions in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. Had

the illustrious framers of that scheme duly recognised the fact mentioned by Lord Morley, the Indian people and their leaders would not have had to deplore those objectionable or unsatisfactory features of their scheme which the special Congress has insisted on with a view to their removal. Of course the people of India would have that scheme or whatever the British Ministry and Parliament would be able to give us after considering it, if it is impossible to secure what they want and have long worked for. But, if the country is united at this critical hour and stage of its progress, we are quite certain that we shall obtain a satisfactory settlement of our claims and a substantial step forward towards the goal we have in view.

The Indian national party has made its pronouncements on the proposal and so far there has been no serious attempt from any quarter to belittle them or question their rationality and moderation. No doubt, a few respected leaders such as Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee or Sir D. E. Wacha have kept aloof, but they, too, must recognise that their fears of terrible happenings in the recent special Congress have proved groundless. Other so-called moderate leaders like Mr. Malaviya did take their usual place in the Congress session and their services are appreciated in all quarters. We trust that others, too, will like them support the cause and place the country's demands clearly before the British Ministry and Parliament through the Government of India.

The so-called Non-Brahmin opposition in this Presidency has really no leg to stand on. For, the large majority of non-Brahmins—all educated men among them who can think and speak without prejudice or bigotry—have placed themselves wholly in line with Congressmen in this Presidency and other Presidencies or Provinces. Hence, when the *Madras Mail*, speaking on behalf of the Anglo-Indian patrons of the small, but noisy, faction headed by Dr. Nair, calls them "*the non-Brahmins viewed as a body*" (see its leader of Oct., 2nd), it is a thorough misrepresentation of the condition of public opinion in this Presidency. The few non-Brahmin Adullamites who follow Dr. Nair have no importance and no status in the land. Our contemporary says of the non-Brahmins :—"They have an authorised representative and are prepared to honour his undertakings." Dr. Nair represents only a few factionists and Adullamites among non-Brahmins, and not "the non-Brahmins viewed as a body." The general body of non-Brahmins do not recognise Dr. Nair as their leader, or representative, and they distrust, like all thinking Indians, the great majority of Anglo Indian exploitationists whom our contemporary represents and who have taken Dr. Nair and his faction under their protecting wings for the advancement of their own aims and for the defeating of all schemes of Indian reform which will advance the power of self-expression which the Indian people still possess. Hence no importence attaches to Dr. Nair's mission in England.

Our Anglo-Indian contemporary is not, however, without some misgivings as to the value of what it represents as the case of the non-Brhamins or what it chooses to call "non-Brahmin moderation." *Firstly*, it says of the non-Brahmins,—"They may complain now that non-Brahmins are treated as

children or as though all belonged to the backward and depressed classes but we think they find already, if they look for them, signs which are hopeful for the future." We think all thoughtful public-spirited, and self-respectful non-Brahmins will prefer to rely on their own undoubted intelligence and energy than on this will-o'-the wisp which is to develop "signs which are hopeful for the future." There is for them everything to hope for by joining the great Indian national movement whose leaders have worked single-mindedly for the uplift of their sacred motherland. We do not think any self-respecting Indian worthy of the education he has received will commit the disgraceful and ruinous folly of walking into the exploitationist's parlour. *Secondly* our contemporary is conscious that his slavish Indian clientele and coterie "are fighting their own case and say so," while Congress men "form a party which claims to speak for India as a whole." Our contemporary denies this claim. His sage observations form a philosophic gem of the kind which adorns the Anglo-Indian mind. We make no apology for quoting it here *in extenso*:—"No altruistic pretext holds water for long; this is one of the consolations in a world in which despair must otherwise be more universal than it is; in our dealings with our fellow-men, whether in the field of politics, society, friendship or literature, it is only truth that can bear the test of time." Whether we agree with the whole of this elegant passage or not, we need not state at present. But it clearly proves that our contemporary and the Anglo-Indians he speaks for, support their few non-Brahmin proteges from purely *egoistic* motives, and from "no altruistic *pretext*." It is these *avowedly selfish* Anglo-Indian exploitationists that have long blocked the way of Indian reform. But the cause of freedom is also the cause of truth, and we firmly believe that it is because Indian freedom stands on the impregnable rock of truth, that its early triumph is assured even to the chagrin and discomfiture of its opponents.

Notes and Comments.

An English writer—Mr. C. E. Maurice—feels the need "to appeal to the higher voice of God against the grinding tyranny of State worship." But where are we to find "the higher voice of God?" If, as Mr. Maurice says, "undoubtedly there are signs of a change coming over the attitude of average men towards the religion of their youth," there is no certainty regarding "the higher voice of God." *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*, as the saying goes. This demon of public opinion, or time-spirit, or mob-rule is the only deity which the Western man worships, and it is responsible for all the present "grinding tyranny of State worship." Only in ancient India was Dharma accepted as higher than the State, and as the authoritative source from which the State itself was to derive its inspiration and guidance. Ancient India never had to suffer from "the grinding tyranny of State worship." The Brihad-Aranyaka Upanishad calls Dharma "क्षत्रस्य क्षत्रं." Sri Sankaracharya interprets this to mean, "क्षत्रस्यापि नियन्तृ । उग्रादप्युग्रम्" "That which rules even the ruler; that which terrifies even the terrific." The spirit of the modern world is unwilling to accept any immutable and eternally authoritative source or standard of morality. So long as this state of things exists, there can be no such things as a "higher voice of God" to appeal to in times of difficulty like the present. Might alone is right. The big battalions alone rule the world and decide the fates of men.

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The following passage occurs in one of the works of the late Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt :—"The teachings of the Missionary and the schoolmaster during the early years of the nineteenth century have unsettled the mind of the educated youth of India, and produced a reaction against the prevailing forms of worship. But a deeper education is teaching the later generations to enter beyond the mere forms of the ceremonial, and to seek for light and religious consolation in those ancient Scriptures which are the undying heritage of their nation. Greek and Persian, Hun and Scythian, Moslem and Christian have battled in vain against that ancient and deep-seated faith, that worship of the Universal Soul which is the creed of the Modern Hindu, as it was the creed of the ancient Upanishads and the Vedanta."

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With regard to the above extract, we must bear in mind that any careful inquirer will be easily able to convince himself that "the ancient Upanishads and the Vedanta" not only teach the "worship of the Universal soul," but also maintain the validity of religion of "ceremonials" and "forms of worship," against which there is so much senseless and irrational prejudice in the modern mind. The *Karma-kanda* is the necessary prelude and precursor of the *Jnana-kanda*; and the latter refers by name to various rituals such as *Sirovratan* (शिरोव्रतम्), *asvamedham* (अश्वमेधम्), &c. When once we have settled what is the source of true knowledge, we cannot accept part of what it teaches as valid and reject the rest of it as not valid. Karma-kanda and Jnana-kanda are equally valid as parts of the Veda, and so are equally entitled to our acceptance and allegiance. This is in accordance with the principle known to Indian logicians as अर्धजरतीयन्यायम्. When we call a person old, we mean that all of him is old,—not only half of his personality. So, when we call the Veda our *Pramana* or source of truth, we must not accept one half of it, and reject the other half, at our own sweet will and pleasure.

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A living English writer declares that Queen Victoria raised the Monarchy "to a height few would have thought attainable when she ascended the throne. She had gained ground for the Executive at the expense of Parliament." This is one chief reason why in India, too, the power of the executive became unlimited. It was the late Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt who made us first realise that "the great movements which mark the history of Modern England have left their impress on the history of Modern India,"—that "the rulers of India have drawn their inspiration from England." Now that a great crisis has arisen in consequence of the great war, and the British race feels the need of India's help and co-operation in overthrowing the aggression of the German war machine, the times are favourable to the cause of India's progress in freedom.

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The truth is that the people at large, not only in India, but throughout the world, can only rest in peace under the reign of law,—*i.e.*, what we in India call *Dharma*, the eternal and immutable principles and rules of morality,—the *Sanatana Dharma*. Neither the unlimited and uncontrolled power of the executive, nor unrestrained mob rule, can ever prove satisfactory to mankind. In India the Dharma was held valid for both king and people, and all held it in wholesome reverence. India's prosperity and freedom and power have slowly declined with the decline of Dharma. Neither the absolute and unrestrained power of the executive nor mobocracy will do for us as for the rest of mankind. There can be no peace or happiness for mankind so long as the present "grinding tyranny of mere State worship" is allowed to prevail. Everywhere, the State has become a fetish, and every nation and people wants its own State to give the law to mankind. In order to lessen the importance of the idea of the State in the future life of humanity, we want something to live for which is higher than all States and powers, something which is—to use the words of a living writer—"above written laws and

military despotisms and lawless mobs." In ancient India, both monarchs and men owned allegiance to Isvara and Dharma —both of them being ideals which satisfied the requirement just mentioned.

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Within recent years, there have arisen a few men in this Presidency who take a delight in promoting caste-feeling and caste-squabbles in South India. One gentleman publicly proclaimed that he had "smashed the political domination of the Brahmins,"—and we regret it is no less a person than our distinguished countryman, Rao Bahadur Thiyaga Raja Chettiar. In this country, all political domination belongs to the British race. It is absurd to confound the holding of posts in the public service with "political domination." Officials are *servants* of government. Service as an official subordinate is an idea which is quite the contrary of what we mean by "political domination." We trust our Non-Brahmin Hindu brethren will enter public service in larger numbers in the future; but that will not increase their political power, for that will not enable them to lay down the principles which guide the administration. The holding of office—especially the holding of the posts in the subordinate services which the Brahmins almost till recently largely gained—has only helped them to keep the soul and body together, and it has at the same time made them lose their self-respect and self-confidence. It will be well if the other castes do the same thing in larger numbers than hitherto, in order that they may demonstrate to the world whether thereby they acquire any political power in this land. We think political power can only be gained by wealth, intelligence, and public spirit, and not by any amount of quill-driving, or knee-crooking to official superiors, in public offices.

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In this Presidency it is, that all sorts of pettiness, folly, and perversity easily gain access into the hearts of men. All to whom the Tamil language is a common inheritance are Tamilians, and Tamil is spoken only in the South of India. The Tamilians are also divided into castes, like the rest of the Hindus. The civilisation of South India has—or may have had—some peculiarities which are not to be found among other Hindu Communities. But that civilisation is the common achievement and inheritance of the entire Tamil people, and not of some only. Some Tamilians are Brahmins, but that can be no reason why those Tamilians who are not Brahmins should deny them the privilege of belonging to the Tamil people and land. Non-Brahmin Saivites are prepared to recognise, or even pay court to, Brahmins if they are Saivites. They even pay court to the Bhattar-Brahmins of Chidambaram, most of whom are followers of the Advaita-Vedanta of Sankaracharya, because in some of the books regarded with respect by Saivas they are spoken of by their authors with much respect. Moreover, three of the Saivite saints who are regarded as the founders of Saivism are Brahmins, and that is also a reason why Saivite Brahmins—Brahmins who have gained Saiva-Diksha or initiation into Saivism—are shown much consideration. But even the recognition or respect paid to Saivite Brahmins does not, it seems, entitle them to be regarded as Tamilians, because they are Brahmins. Such are the ways of people who claim a high culture of the modern sort and superiority to their forbears on account of their modernisation and modern culture. All such mischievous and perverse follies were absolutely unknown to us before the introduction of the present system of education. Unless we have a more humanising kind of culture, and a culture suited to our own traditions and civilisation in the past we fear that India will become another European continent of to-day, distracted by racial animosities, aversions, and hatreds and reeking with revolutionary destruction and devastation from one end to another.

Olla Podrida.

The German peace offensive is going on vigorously. Germany is trying to use England as a pawn against France and America as a pawn against England and France.

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Coming to India, the Woman's Home Rule League passed a vote of thanks to the Congress for recognising women's rights. Mrs. Gurusami Chetty moved, and Mrs. Viswanatha Iyer supported, the momentous resolution. I hope that the next Congress will pass a vote of gratitude for this act of grace.

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Then under the auspices of the Wedderburn Parliament attached to the Gokhale Free Reading Room, Sikkil, Mrs. Annie Besant's birthday was celebrated. Mrs. Anandi Bai has published a sonnet on Mrs. A. B. (A. B. are the initials of both ! ! !). Quite recently Mr. Wadia's birthday was celebrated. This celebration was followed by a cosmopolitan dinner. If the birthdays of all the existing patriots be celebrated—and their name is legion—we can at least have feasts every day. Or is the celebration only an excuse for the feast?

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The scouts of India are very much to the fore. Mysore has bravely displayed her parade of boy scouts and girl scouts. The enrolment of girls as scouts is a happy sign of our military efficiency as women have been the allies of the oldest archer in the world who is even now as busy as ever. The Shivaji troop of Trichinopoly have described Mr. M. K. Gandhi as "the greatest scout of the day." So he has become a scout to the scouts.

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I now come to the Indian arts. The Wellington Cinema—praised by G. S. A. recently—is now giving a wonderful performance called *The Memnies of a Madman* and *Foolshead as detective*. What elegant English ! Is this a compliment to the audience by hitting off their characteristics in telling phrases? Then there was, or is to be, a great oratorical contest at No. 2 Broadway, Georgetown. Tongue v. Tongue. We ought to train ourselves for our great national industry. Then Abu Hassan was enacted again. Mrs. A. B. requisitioned all the superlatives in her command and said that the play helped India to win freedom and served the two great faiths rooted in the soil. What these have to do with a roaring farce one does not see. But what has humour to do with grandioseness of speech?

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The *New India* wrote recently in one of the Editorial Notes: "May the rulers and the people receive guidance from the Givers of all Guidance." Is the use of the plural in "Givers" designed or accidental and has it a Theosophical source and inspiration? Will some one enlighten us about this?

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Dr. Muthulakshmi Ammal said recently at the celebration of the anniversary of Ram Mohan Roy under the auspices of the South India Brahmo Samaj Ladies Association that Ram Mohan Roy founded the Brahma Samaj to prevent the isolation of women. This view has the merit of originality if nothing else.

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Bombay has formed armies of mercy to fight the influenza. Will Reuter report the fortunes of this war for us accurately?

SCRUTATOR.

Reviews of Books.

THE SURVIVAL OF HINDU CIVILISATION: Part I—*The impoverishment of India and its Remedy*: BY PRAMATHA NATH BOSE: Calcutta Rs. 1/8.

Mr. Bose is already well-known as the author of "the Epochs of Civilisation," "the Illusions of New India" etc. He is noted for his wide and accurate knowledge of Indian problems. His views are independent and detached while his criticisms are restrained and free from bias. These characteristics of his he maintains to a remarkable degree in his latest book "the Survival of Hindu Civilisation," the first part of which on "the Impoverishment of India and its Remedy" has reached us now.

According to Mr. Bose the survival of a civilisation depends upon the maintenance of the equipoise between the forces making for material progress and those leading to ethical culture. Till the advent of the British the disturbing force of the equilibrium was mainly the weakening of the forces making for ethical development. But since the establishment of the British rule the chief disturbing factor is the weakening of

India's economic condition; Mr. Bose sets out the causes of this impoverishment and suggests a method by which the equilibrium may be restored. The economic drain is the prime cause for the impoverishment while the spread of ideas of comfort, decency and aesthetics of western civilisation are also in a lesser degree responsible for it. The author says that the drain due to industrial and commercial exploitation may be remedied in two ways—by a positive and a negative method. The positive method consists in industrial development on modern methods by indigenous agency. But as this method of development depends mainly on the capital available for it and as there is a "deplorable dearth" of capital at present, the only other method that could be effectively adopted is the negative one "which would necessitate our going back to the condition of social simplicity which obtained two or three generations ago" This method by doing away with "the futilities, superfluities and inutilities which have been recently introduced among us in conformity with the usages and ideals of an exotic and highly expensive social standard" makes retrenchment possible to a considerable degree. "The negative method," the author is careful to point out "differs from Swadeshism as it is now understood, in the fact, that whereas the latter would minister to the new wants which have been created in response to the so-called 'rise' in the standard of living before the old wants have been supplied, the former would resist this rise."

Before concluding we must say that the force and accuracy, the independence and originality of the author may not fail to impress anyone who may read his book. One is startled to see that Mr. Bose "is not much in favour of nationalism," that the so-called patriotism of modern India is most un-Indian and that his negative method should not be confused with Swadeshism. But anyone reading his book may know how convincingly he proves his statements. Mr. Bose requires a much higher and a more genuine patriotism in his country-men for the success of the methods he has suggested. The book will serve as a warning note to many a headstrong and thoughtless "reformer" and we desire most that every Indian may study and profit by the book.

Economics and Co-operation.

[M. R. RY. N. SUBRAMANIA IYER, M. A.]

(concluded)

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

This leads us naturally to the "co-operative movement of today. In India, this movement has not been long in existence, and the result of it has yet to fully develop. But we may well consider what the principle of co-operation itself is. Co-operation means, in its widest usage, says the Encyclopedia Brittanica "the creed that life may be best aided, not by the competition of individuals where each seeks the interest of his family or himself, but by mutual help; by each individual constantly striving for the good of the social body of which he forms part, and the social body in return caring for each individual. Each for all, and all for each, is its accepted motto. Thus it proposes to replace, among rational and moral beings, the struggle for *self*-existence by struggle through voluntary combination for the existence of *others*". In working these societies, therefore, what we have got to see to, is that they do not pass into investments and trading companies for mere individual or collective gain or convenience; for, then, the idea of co-operation will be completely lost and it will only be a cause of combination for self-interest, whether individual or corporate it does not matter. From this latter, co-operation must be jealously distinguished, though it is most liable to be confounded with it.

ITS SCOPE.

Now co-operation may be for any purpose. It may be for production i.e., industry, agricultural or non-agricultural, it may be for distribution i.e., trade, it may be for banking, i e, deposits and loans. In all these cases, the movement must exist primarily for service to *others*, not merely its own members. That is what would differentiate it from any ordinary trading and lending company. It is *this* that will replace competition or struggle for self-existence by struggle for the existence of others which, we have seen, is the principle of the co-operative movement. If a co-operative store or distributing society, for instance, has, as its main object, the interests of the producers of the things stored, and primarily seeks only to find an adequate market for them, it will be a move-

ment on the co-operative principle; for it is co-operating with the producer by distributing what he produces. If, on the other hand, it has only the idea of buying good articles at rates favourable to themselves and distributing them to its own members, it cannot be other than a case of struggle for self-existence. In the same way, if the object and policy of a co-operative bank be to ameliorate and strengthen the condition of its customers and obviate the need for desperate borrowing, it will be an un-mixed blessing. Not otherwise. True charity, it is said, aims at its own extinction. And the extinction is to come, not by abolishing the relief straight off, but by abolishing the need for seeking it. A lending agency, therefore, should certainly lend and is ordinarily no more contraband like a charity house. But it is not less contraband. Like true charity, it must aim at gradually removing the need for people often going to it by remedying the cause. To leave the *need* for loans untouched and merely to give *facilities* for taking them can only put off the evil day for a few years or decades. It cannot save the alienation of the ryot's land on which he and his ancestors have lived ever so long. In the interests of the producing classes of society, the necessity for going to a banker for the purpose of paying to his sovereign the tax due to him for the protection he enjoys at his hands, and for the securing of the things needed for his avocation in life, such as seed, cattle etc., should certainly not continue. It makes no difference whether the lender is a sowcar, hundi-merchant or a society. Loan-taking and giving should ordinarily be reserved for the larger purpose of commerce and industry.

ARE WE PROGRESSING OR RETROGRESSING.

In the first place, there is the fundamental question whether we are progressing in all our economic parts, or whether we are retrogressing, or again, whether we are progressing in some and retrogressing in others. Mere impressions and generalisations would hardly suffice. Facts and figures can alone convince the responsible thinker. If we are progressing in all our parts, the existing policies, agricultural, industrial, commercial, political, religious etc., have only to be kept up and re-inforced. But if we are not, their causes have to be enquired into and remedied. If, however as is nearer the truth, we are progressing in some directions and retrogressing in others, what those respectively are should be accurately determined and the necessary adjuvants and correctives applied as the case may be. We read, for instance, that for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland the total annual income is over two thousand million pounds for a population of about 40 millions, giving an average of about 50 pounds per head. They say, in India the highest estimate is about Rs. 30. It may be more—or, it may be less—in any case, we cannot say it with the same definiteness, as the income of our brother in Europe or as the income of our own Government which, we know, is only an item of the people's expenditure on account of the protective service enjoyed by them, and which of course, must bear some relation to the income of the people themselves. What I am driving at is that there must be the clearest ideas of policy and aim and the fullest statistical data in all these matters, if in what one thinks, speaks and acts he should feel himself on *terra firma*, be he an officer of Government or the spokesman of the people. We should also know in its full significance. what is "labour." Labour is either physical or mental, and is in either case a service of some kind exchangeable with some other service or supply. We must note what are the kinds of labour we have in the country, what is the demand for each, what is the supply of each, how each labour is related to every other, how to link the various kinds of labour so that one will be helpful and not antagonistic to the other, how to balance the adverse pressure on each labour, both within and from without, how many families are working in each labour, what is its wages, etc., etc., etc. Budgets of income and expenditure in respect of a certain number of topical families engaged in each labour should also be prepared to illustrate the real situation. Such budgets have been worked out by European publicists for several countries in the West and could well be attempted here. This is a fine field of philanthropic activity for the members of the Sree Mulam Popular Assembly. With its variety of raw materials and with its industrious people, our country affords justification for the highest hopes.

THE PRESS.

The Press is a great institution all the world over, and the vernacular press is serving as a potent instrument for popular instruction. But if journals would work under a system of division of labour, so far as the special interest in particular industries is concerned, their usefulness would be greatly enhanced. That is, if a paper would take up agriculture as a specialty along of course with its usual programme, and direct the attention of correspondents to the agricultural features of their respective areas, it would be constituting itself into an economic bureau for that branch of the people's well-being. So with every other industry. Clubs and associations, again, might, in addition to being the places of recreation for members or places for the transaction of special business, render valuable economic service. Clubs, particularly, being the brain of the Town or Village where they exist, have a great responsibility in this matter.

EXHIBITIONS.

Industrial and Agricultural Exhibitions and Cattle-shows have an important place in the scheme of economic advancement: but things must exist before they can be exhibited. In the holding, of Exhibitions and Shows therefore, we must feel a constructive interest in bringing into existence exhibits of which we may be proud. The determination of the policy and conduct of Exhibitions would in the light of this truth require considerable discrimination and attention.

CONCLUSION.

Every country must seek its own economic salvation, and through it and alongside it the salvation of every other. To this end, we must, before doing any act or omission, great or small, either individually or as members of a corporation or as officers under Government, ask ourselves, whether by such act or omission, we shall be lessening and displacing any of the existing labours in the land, or in other words, the existing means of livelihood, and if so, to what extent and under what compensatory safe-guards, or whether we are, on the other hand, increasing or adding to them. In an established society with supply and demand duly adjusted, the producer of an article or service, having hunger at his back can on no account ordinarily speaking, neglect to produce or produce ill. Without enquiring into the cause, it will be vain to blame him, as it would be tantamount to blaming the effect, leaving the cause un-noticed. Of course, during a season of public disorder, a policeman in uniform may be easily spotted out and called in for help or taken to task for neglect as the case may be. In undress, however, this is not possible. In the same way, in India, the preservation to some extent still of forms such as dress, customs, manners etc., enables several of the old occupational classes being made out and responsibility enforced against them for bad work or no work in their respective spheres. But it should not be taken advantage of for the purpose of blaming only. The factors that have led to the unsatisfactory condition should be ascertained and removed. As already observed, the chief part is want of patronage. This has to be regranted, for which the existence of identifiable old occupational groups will be a good guide. When we call to memory the systematic neglect that we have been guilty of in the matter of maintaining the demand for the various labours of the land and investing our savings in helping those engaged in them to make and market their produce our surprise would be, *not* that they are not better but that they are yet so good. Under any theory of cosmogenesis, interdependent mutual responsibility or co-operation must be the religion of the world, and if religion, in its ultimate analysis, is the science of the true relation of the Universe to its maker and of its component parts to each other there is no gainsaying the fact that this religion of co-operation must lie at the bottom of all morality and progress, individual and national.

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Our Social Problem and the Bhagavad Gita By K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri B.A., B.L.

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The Inter-Caste Marriage Bill

INTRODUCED BY THE HON'BLE MR. V. J. PATEL.

A Danger to Hindu Society.

PANDIT M. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A. Private Secretary to His Holiness the Jagadguru Shri Shankaracharya of Kolhapur writes:—

His Holiness is seriously working to arrange to represent on behalf of all the Matadhipathis and Dharmagurus of all the Castes of the Hindus that the Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel's Bill on Inter-Caste Marriages is not only objectionable to the Hindu Sastras but most destructive to the traditional well being of the Hindu Community from the sociological stand-point. He may hold public meetings shortly (during his tour) in Bombay, Delhi and other parts of the country to explain the undesirability of allowing the Bill to pass and the desirability of opposing it whole-heartedly while he is thoroughly convinced that the educated opinion of the country in the matter is strictly against the idea underlying the Bill. He hopes that the only way, the really successful way, of opposing *any* such measure affecting the Hindu traditional purity is to bring to bear upon the matter the decisive and certainly higher influences of the Dharmagurus.

***

The following Circular is issued by the Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal to all its Samraksbakas, Pratinidhis and Supporters and we cordially commend it to all orthodox and patriotic Hindus for prompt action:—

1. The nature of the danger that is facing Orthodox Hindu society at this moment needs no pointing out. There is no true Hindu who has not been deeply pained and shocked at the effort being made by the Hon. Mr. Patel to bring in a Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council to validate marriages between different Hindu castes. To give legal sanction to intercastal matrimonial alliances among Hindus would be akin to making it lawful for a Hindu to break the most sacred, most vital and most inviolable institution of Varnashram in Hindu society—the hereditary division into Castes —which distinguishes the Hindus from all other races on earth. To pass such a law would mean the giving of legal sanction to a Hindu's flouting of Hindu religion, defying of Hindu custom, insulting of Hindu feeling and sentiment, upsetting of established social order, in short, giving legal sanction to a Hindu sitting on the breast of the hoary Hindu society and plucking its beard! By the rigorous observance of caste distinction in the contracting of marriages; the purity of blood of the different Hindu castes has been preserved, and the Hindu community has been saved from submergence and extinction under the weight of compact with other peoples. But if the projected Bill is accepted and becomes law, it will be all *ekikaar*, there will be no hindrance to a Brahman marrying a *Chamar* woman and vice versa. Or, a non-Hindu may become a Sikh or an Arya Samajist (through the favour of indiscriminate "Shuddhi") and lawfully marry a Hindu! If you try to hinder such an alliance, which is utterly abhorrent to Hindu feeling and custom and opposed to Hindu religion, you may be hauled up for going against the law! In fact, the more one thinks of the proposed Bill the more of a nightmare of horrors it appears.

2. Coming on the heels of the never-to-be-forgotten legislation in Baroda and then in Indore (the evil effects of which are confined to the States concerned only) the attempt of Mr. Patel assumes a specially serious aspect indeed, involving as it does the whole Indian Empire. No Hindu can passively look on while his most cherished religious convictions and social institutions are sought to be assailed, And every Hindu is hereby appealed to give most careful attention to the enclosed Appendix containing the decisions of the Council of the Mahamandal and the foremost Pundits and other leaders of Benares. The decisions are given in the form of Resolutions for the sake of convenience. The Council and other responsible leaders met at Benares on the 13th Sept. under the presidency of H. H. the Maharaja Bahadur of Durbhanga.

3. The Resolutions speak for themselves and need no explaining. The first brings out

the objectionable character of the proposed Bill and unequivocally condemns it, and calls on all Hindu public bodies and Dharmacharyas and other leaders to do the needful to prevent the acceptance of the Bill. The second Resolution prays Government to adhere in all circumstances to its wise policy of non-interference in matters religious and social. The third Resolution demands the privilege already conceded to Mahommedans and Sikhs, of Orthodox Hindus electing their special representatives in Councils. It also points out the unfairness of non-Hindus and unorthodox Hindus having a hand in the making of laws vitally affecting Hindu religion and society. These three Resolutions must be passed at once. Of course it is open to any Sabha to alter the wording, but the spirit must stand. The Resolutions, preferably signed by the President of the meeting, should be sent to the Viceroy through his Private Secretary with a letter to the latter asking him to lay the same before His Excellency. Copies should be sent to the Head of the Local Government and the District authorities for information.

4. The other Resolutions may be taken up conveniently at one or more subsequent meetings. The matters they deal with are all important. Resolution IV is a domestic affair so to say, and no one will disagree with the view that the Mahamandal should not be frightened away from the mere name of "political." This already comes within the scope of our Raksha department. Resolution V would be very useful to keep things straight in the Benares Hindu University as regards religious teaching and religious atmosphere. Resolution VI. should stimulate the efforts of every Hindu body and leader.

5. It would be well to send telegraphic reports to the Press, and enlist the help of the Press to carry on the agitation. Let him who can speak, speak. He who can write cannot use his pen for a better purpose. Those who can only help with bodily labour will in making the bundobust for meetings do the most valuable part of the work. There should be no lack of the money required for the small expenditure, in a matter which goes to the very foundations of Hindu society. The Council relies on the prestige and influence of the illustrious Samrakshakas, for success. The Council expects that every Pratinidhi and every local leader will do his duty zealously and unflinchingly. In conclusion the Council looks forward to the agitation being in full swing within a fortnight: thanks to the sense of Dharmik duty of all Branches, affiliated institutions and other orthodox Hindu bodies. Everything should be done calmly and quietly and there must not be the least sign of excitement.

RAMCHANDRA NAIK KALIA,
General Secretary.

Appendix.

This meeting of the Council of the Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal and other Orthodox Hindu representatives (including Pandits) of Benares is convened in this holy city, the Religious Metropolis of the Hindus, in pursuance of the great feeling of alarm and consternation that prevails in all sections of the Hindu community throughout India in consequence of the effort on the part of a Member of Supreme Council to bring in a Bill with the object of legalising and rendering valid marriages between different castes of Hindus, such intercastal matrimonial connections being utterly repugnant to Hindu ideas and sentiment, directly in contravention of Hindu religion, custom and traditions and utterly opposed to *Varnashram Dharma*—the inviolable hereditary division into castes which is the vital preservative element of Hindu society, the basis of Hindu social structure, guaranteeing the purity of blood and descent of members of each caste through the principle of heredity, by prohibiting the intermingling of blood of different castes: And in view of the dangerous, revolutionary nature of the proposed Bill from the Hindu standpoint, it is hereby

I. Resolved that the Head Office of the Shri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal be directed to get an authorised copy of the draft of the proposed Bill from the Legislative Department, Government of India, and the said Shri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal (as the All-India representative socio-religious organisation of the Orthodox Hindu community) be moved to at once take necessary measures to warn all its Branches, affiliated institutions, other Orthodox Hindu bodies, as well as the *Dharmacharyas* (religious Heads) and individual Hindus of light and leading as may not be connected with any socio-religious public association, of this imminent danger facing the Hindu community, with a view to the combined simultaneous adoption of loyal and constitutional measures for preventing the bringing in of the anti-Hindu Bill under reference, it to be distinctly pointed out in the representations to the Imperial Government that those who contract intercastal matrimonial alliances under the present circumstances do so at their peril, in defiance of social custom and religious ordinances, and the recognition of such illicit connections as legally valid would open the door to social disruption and anarchy into our time-hallowed society on one side and on the other create a feeling of disquiet in the vast majority of the Indian population. *This meeting is of course sure that no precautions would be spared to guard against any tendency to excitement in the course of the agitation.*

II. Resolved that this meeting feels it its sacred

duty to solemnly impress upon Government the fact that the contemplated legislative action has re-wakened all sections of the Orthodox Hindu community to the danger of their sacred, vital and inviolable social customs and institutions—that distinguish the Hindus from all other peoples on earth and that have kept up the everlasting power of rejuvenescene and recuperation of the race while all other ancient nations have disappeared—rewakened all intelligent Hindus to the risk, the meeting repeats, of *such* hoary social customs being sought to be modified or rendered legally ineffectual and inoperative by Representatives in Imperial and Local Councils who are Hindus only in name and do not follow the Hindu faith and look upon the most cherished Hindu social customs as hindrances to what they in their ignorance consider to be "reform," and social and political progress. In view of this terrible and growing dan.er (as it is from the true Hindu point of view) this meeting most humbly and earnestly prays those in whose hands the Almighty has placed the material destinies of the Hindu race to reassure the Hindus by making it unmistakably evident that they (the British Rulers) will in no case depart from their proclaimed determination never to interfere with the religion and social customs (with which Hindu religion is bound up inalienably) of any section of the Indian population, by allowing any such law as is contemplated to be put on the Statute Book of India. This meeting would make it clear that the distinctive social customs of the Hindus, the most important of which is the institution of Caste, Varnashrama, are not man-made and therefore alterable or removable, but have been established for all time by the inspired Sages and Seers of yore, who again only voiced the behests of the Almighty. The meeting would further point out that established Hindu *achar* (ritual and rules of religious and ceremonial purity) and even established local customs have the same sanctity in the estimation of the Orthodox Hindu public, as the revealed social laws aforesaid. The meeting implores the Government to make it indubitably evident once more that not only the Bill in question will not be allowed to be brought in, but the bringing in of such a dangerous innovatory proposal would be rendered impossible in future.

III. Resolved that for this purpose, that is for guarding against the Legislative machinary being employed to cause disintegration of Hindu society by thoughtless non-orthodox Members professing to be *Hindu Representatives*, and the non-Hindus having a hand in Hindu socio-religious legislation, the Orthodox Hindu population, those who believe in Varnashram and observe loyally Orthodox Hindu customs and *achar* be granted the right to elect their own Representative or Representatives, in the same way as the privilege has been conceded to our Mussalman fellow-subjects and Sikhs. The Orthodox Hindus (the largest section of the population) should not be the only people who would always run the risk of being misrepresented in Council. The meeting hereby requests the Mahamandal to move in the matter by taking all constitutional means including the sending up of a strong and representative Deputation to wait on the Viceroy. The Mahamandal is also requested to take all lawful precautions against Hindus of non-orthodox views being elected as Hindu representatives in Supreme and Local Councils. Moreover, with its over 600 Branches, about 200 Pratinidhis (leading Hindus in all parts of India) and about 60 Samrakshaks (Religious Heads and Ruling Chiefs) the Mahamandal could well form a purely Hindu electorate for electing an unquestionably reliable Hindu Representative in the Imperial Council.

IV. Resolved that the time has come for the Mahamandal to take up such technically political questions as in the guise of a proposed legal enactment threaten the well-being and internal order of Hindu society.

V. Resolved that this meeting respectfully urges His Highness the General President of the Mahamandal to take necessary steps for insuring the maintenance of the Orthodox Hindu character and tone of the Benares Hindu University; insuring the adoption of a course of religious instruction strictly in accord with the Sanatan Hindu ideals and teachings, insuring the election of true followers of Sanatan Dharma to the Governing Body and the employment of orthodox Professors, Lecturers and Teachers, and insuring the elimination of non-orthodox elements.

VI. Resolved that the matter being very urgent and important all the steps and actions recommended in these Resolutions be definitely launched and carried on within a month, and all Branches, Affiliated Bodies, Dharmacharyas, Provincial Centres, etc., of the Mahamandal be enjoined to this effect by the Head Office of the Mahamandal.

The most sensational piece of news about the war this week is not from the war theatre. It is from Germany and it says that the Kaiser has abdicated. The news yet requires confirmation. For aught we know it may yet be contradicted. But assuming the truth of this pretty piece of intelligence, we may say that it marks the deepest depth of demoralisation which has set in Germany since the tide of fortune turned against the Central Powers a few weeks ago. In the melting pot of the war half-a-dozen crowns have already been liquefied but the crown of the Kaiser will be the most illustrious and substantial contribution of them all. It may indeed be true that the Kaiser is only a representative of the types of men and ideas prevalent in Germany and that though Kaiser Wilhelm may go, there will be others to continue his traditions and his policy. It is true that no man in the world, however great he may be, is indispensable; and that if the spirit of German Militarism be not really dead, then the passing of Kaiser will not matter. But this should be more true of the Kaiser's death than his abdication. His civil death is more significant than his physical death. His abdication will be a confession not only of his airy failure but of the change of spirit that has come over his surroundings and altered the aspect of things. (*The Mahratta.*)